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WORLD-ORGANIZATION AFTER THE WORLD-WAR— AN OMNINATIONAL CONFEDERATION

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It seems quite needless to say that the world-war now in its closing stages forms a crucial epoch in world-history, that its origin was closely linked with events running far back into the past, or that the outcome will vitally condition the future. It seems no less needless to say that the whole history of the earth, in its broadest sense and in its utmost reaches, has been closely linked as a co-ordinated series of events and will remain so linked far into the future; or that the material factors in this world-history are intimately intertwined with those that condition life as well as mental and moral issues. And so all episodes in world-events, however special they may seem on the surface, are to be viewed as factors of a co-ordinated unit in which each event plays its part in the composite whole.

And yet with little doubt every reader, at first flush of thought, will feel a touch of surprise that a discussion of world-organization after a world-war is given a place in a magazine devoted to earth-science, however broadly that periodical may try to cultivate its field. But in the face of this, and with due deliberation, a medium has been chosen in which discussions of former crucial stages of earth-history are wont to appear and a scientific atmosphere habitually invoked to control the spirit, the purpose, and the method of discussion.

The European balance of power and the European concert as peace devices.—Before the war, the control of international affairs in Europe was sought by means of a “balance of power,” with a Triple Alliance in one pan of the scales and the Entente Powers in the other. The periodic disturbances of this balance and the recurring threats of discord in the “concert of powers” left the way open for sinister underplays; a series of wars arose in spite

of the efforts to keep the peace, and these wars led up to the recent gigantic conflict. So this equilibrium scheme for the preservation of peace must take its place among the list of futile efforts. The way in which the balance was disturbed reveals the point of danger in all such schemes. Almost at the opening of the war the Triple Alliance fell apart and was soon replaced by the "four-in-a-row" combination so significantly strung on the Berlin-Bagdad line, while the Entente group became a center of accessions and gradually grew into the "associated nations" that have just triumphed in the military stage of the struggle. As the inevitable result of such radical shifts of alliance, confidence in the reliability of alliances as a guaranty of peace is greatly weakened. The thoughtful world is therefore casting about to find some other form of organization that gives promise of controlling world-affairs more successfully.

The proposed League of Nations.—In lieu of a balance between alliances, a single league of nations, so strong and so inclusive as to dominate the world, is the favorite scheme of the hour. The factors that are to unite to form this proposed league are still, as before, the several nations, and these nations are to carry into the compact, as before, all their diversities of nature and interest. These diversities give reason to question the endurance of the new league when new lines of stress shall arise. All past leagues have given way in time; why should not this? But what other course is possible? What but the nations as they happen to be can enter into compact to preserve the peace? Can the diversities be set aside and the nations unite on a common homogeneous basis? This is the soul of the proposal here submitted.

The elements of a homogeneous basis.—It seems altogether practicable to divide the interests of the nations into two quite different classes, the first to embrace inherent rights shared alike by all, such as appropriate conditions of self-determination, of self-development, of intercourse with the rest of the world; the second class to embrace such more special interests as spring from the individual natures, inheritances, or peculiar preferences of each nation, those for example that grow out of the affinities of race, language, religion, modes of life, social ideals, and trade preferences. The first class

of interests are necessary to the normal existence and development of a nation, and by reason of this are stable and essentially irreversible; the second, to a notable extent, are merely preferential and naturally are subject to change and even to reversal with alteration of conditions.

Because of these radical differences there is reason to believe that all right-minded nations can be brought to support with constancy and fidelity such measures as may be found necessary to establish and to maintain a common control of the first class of interests, because these are as indispensable to their own welfare as to the common welfare, while they might take diverse attitudes in relation to measures intended to promote some aspects of the interests of the second class. Even if they united on these under given conditions, they might separate with change of conditions.

A further separation of the fit from the unfit interests is necessary for a practical working scheme. Only those interests that are tangible, measurable in physical units, and registrable in definite terms are well suited to successful administration.

Just how these essential qualities may be combined in a working scheme will appear a little later. Just here let us hasten to note that there is no antagonism or incompatibility between a new omninational organization based on common interests and inherent rights and a new league of nations based on special national interests; on the contrary, the placing of common interests and inherent rights under an omninational body created for the purpose leaves the remaining interests for national alliances based on the affinities and preferences of the nations concerned. The adoption of an omninational scheme contemplates supplementary leagues of a more special sort as its inevitable complement.

The peculiar fitness of the existing league of nations for the settlement of the war issues.—The war issues are now in the hands of a league born of the stress of war conditions. As the product of these special stress conditions, it fits the requirements of the war settlement to a supreme degree; it was born to meet them. This war-born league has already won in the military contest; it is more likely than any other possible league to meet the requirements in

statesmanship that are now imminent. Without essential addition or modification, the "associated nations" constitute a league supremely fitted to bring to a close the present issue, to guide in reorganization, and to hand the conduct of world-affairs over to new organizations born of the new peace conditions and fitted by such birth to insure a great era of peace in the future. In its military and material power, in its collective intellectual prowess, in its indomitable purpose, and in its moral fitness, this war-born association of nations cannot be greatly strengthened by any accessions now available, while it might be much hampered by such accessions. It could scarcely be strengthened by the addition of peoples who have been idle bystanders or equivocal onlookers during the great conflict. It could scarcely be strengthened by the addition of the little neutral powers, so unfortunately located on the borders of the aggressive empires that they have been forced, willingly or unwillingly, to be the avenues of supply for the aggressive forces. It could gain little power or fitness for its function by additions from the Russian empire, once a co-ally, whose dissolution has given rise to half-formed republics on the one side, and on the other to an autocratic oligarchy more deplorable than the autocracy from which it sprang. The war-born league of associated nations, in the form in which the stress of war brought it into being, is itself the most fitting league to guide and control the great interests of mankind until it shall have achieved the more complete triumph that remains to be won through a wise settlement. For the immediate future, therefore, it is in the highest interests of mankind that events should take shape under the leadings of the league that has brought us to this first stage of triumph.

The punitive war function versus the requisite impartial peace function.—Supremely fitted as the war-born league is for the settlement of the immediate issues of the war, it is not altogether well suited to be the immediate instrument in building up a spirit of peace. The war issue cannot be settled either in justice or in wisdom without due punishment for the unlawful deeds of the war. The security of the future demands that the guilty be adequately punished. The war-born league cannot therefore divest itself of the memories of the war or of the punitive measures that must

follow. The animosities engendered in the war and in its settlement are likely to linger for three or four generations at least. The "associated nations" must continue to stand sponsor for the complete fulfilment of the reparations it decrees and it cannot escape, and ought not to wish to escape, the associations that cling about the dispenser of justice.

On the other hand, the body that is to develop a permeating and profound disposition toward peace should be as impartial as an inorganic law. It is one of the special features of the proposal herein offered to create a body whose actions shall be as nearly impartial as possible by resting them on a foundation of which parity is the cornerstone. The punitive function of the war-born league stands in contrast with the impartial function needed in the new organization which is to develop a lasting spirit of peace. It is therefore believed to be best that the punitive function be carried into effect by the "associated nations," while the impartial functions looking toward lasting peace be committed to a newly formed body whose constitution shall equally fit it for its special function. It is quite obvious that the punitive action should be taken as promptly as practicable and be carried steadily and firmly into effect until its terms are fully satisfied, or at least fully assured of satisfaction. It seems almost as obvious that this punitive work should be done and out of the way, so far as practicable, before the impartial régime for the development of the peace spirit shall be instituted. This does not mean that all penalties should be actually satisfied in full, but merely that they should be adjudicated and the satisfaction guaranteed. These vital considerations seem to point out, not only the nature of the bodies best fitted for these two functions, but also the order of their actions.

The settlement of the immediate war issues a necessary step toward new organization.—There should be no illusion respecting the present status of the great issue. The triumph of higher ideals has indeed been begun and begun auspiciously, but it is far from complete. The military victory is great, but victories in statesmanship no less great are necessary to make the ultimate issue really triumphant. Certain steps toward settlement obviously need to be taken at

once; others, if wisely taken, must necessarily be delayed. Time is imperatively demanded for the processes of reorganization. Four dynastic empires have fallen into chaos. At their best they were little more than forced agglomerations; they were not true nations. They were formed of diverse and discordant materials bound together by dynastic force, not by spontaneous coherence. Some of the people thus agglomerated were held in hated relations by a duress little short of slavery, though they were worthy of an honored place among nations. The gallant Czecho-Slovaks have shown their worthiness in a heroic, not to say dramatic, way. The crumbling of these agglomerates leaves a chaos of distraught peoples, some of whom are worthy material for reorganization, others of whom are but the morbid products of unwholesome conditions. These morbid products are the greatest threat of the crisis as it stands today, a greater threat, indeed, in some respects than the dynasties from which they have sprung. Like an eruptive fever, this sinister offspring of autocracy has broken out on the surface and shown its full malignity, the better to point the need of treatment. The disease is likely to run its course, but the danger of contagion calls for firm and wise treatment. The war-born alliance of nations is the appointed power to deal with this diseased state and to rescue the wholesome factors of the defunct empires from its deadly ravages. The call to this function is imperative and immediate.

A period of national reconstruction necessary.—When this deadly fever shall have burned out the morbid inheritance from the defunct empires, the worthy elements that remain will need time and aid in segregating themselves according to the natural laws of national evolution, as also in assuming the conditions of normal national life and in entering upon the functions of true nationality, before they can wisely become parties to the final settlement. The task of the associated nations in this process of national reconstruction is likely to lie in at least four lines—the preservation of order, the establishment of stable governments, the arbitration of contests respecting boundaries, and at least preliminary provision for outlets and inlets. The last two functions raise issues that must run on into the far future and should be influential factors in giving shape

to the organization later to be instituted in the interests of permanent peace.

This indispensable interval for segregation and reorganization into new nationalities may perhaps be placed at three to five years; the delay may be a sore trial to the impatient, but it seems imperative to safe procedure.

A further test of the principle of allocation of resources.—During this period of reorganization, and in the performance of the obligations which have been thrown upon the associated nations by their triumph, they will almost inevitably carry forward the present experiment in the control and apportionment of the resources of the several nations that make up the league. This allocation of resources is, in the minds of some of the most thoughtful students of the issue, regarded as the central working idea of the proposed league of nations. It is apparently not so in the minds of others. The control and apportionment of resources has been a most vital feature in the workings of the association of nations while it has been winning the war. The pressing needs of the impoverished and starving peoples of Europe will make a continuation of this allocation indispensable for some time to come. During the stress of the war, the conditions under which the control and distribution of food and other resources have been tried were quite exceptional, and it is by no means clear to what extent even the most right-minded peoples will be willing to submit to the deprivations that have attended this system, when the stress of war and the call to sacrifice are gone. But as the war conditions pass away and peace conditions return, the application of the system may be tested in a more nearly normal way. The allocation of resources is no part of the scheme herein proposed but may be a consideration in forming supplementary leagues. It is applicable to that class of international interests that we have put in the second class because they relate to the *diversities* of national interest rather than the common interests on which the proposed omninational organization is to be based.

The new nationalities to be considered.—One of the first steps looking toward lasting peace is the development of normal nationalities out of the autocratic agglomerates. The factors that

constitute normal nationality are not only complex but they vary in value in different cases. As a result no *simple* definition is possible, nor will any *single* definition suffice. Each nationality carries its own special combination of characteristics, which vary with the value of the several factors that enter into it. And yet in each concrete case presented it is usually possible to form a fairly just opinion of what peoples should form separate nations. But even then the border lines between such nations are often extremely difficult to fix, because there is more or less of mixture of diverse peoples and patchy inter-distribution. The only practicable mode of procedure seems to lie in fixing the bounds as well as may be and letting time bring about a better accommodation.

It is fairly clear that the Polish people, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, the Anatolians, the Armenians, the Syrians, the Palestinians, the Arabians, and the Mesopotamians should be seriously considered as candidates for organization into independent nationalities, but their claims vary much, both in kind and degree. So, also, it seems clear that the provinces wrested from France by force should be returned to her, that the provinces taken from Italy should be returned to her, that the Rumanians should form a single nation, and that various rectifications of bounds are needed in the Near East, while some rectifications of border lines of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark are desirable, if they can be agreed upon. The grave question whether a single new nation or a group of related nations shall emerge from the chaos of the great empire of Russia is as yet too much beclouded by uncertain conditions to warrant discussion, but it obviously constitutes an imminent problem of the future.

The problems presented by these candidates for recognition as independent nations are already taking shape and will find preliminary settlement in connection with the other war issues, and so the specific proposals of this paper are offered on the assumption that most of these peoples will have organized themselves into true nationalities and will have been recognized as such by the associated nations before the proposed general confederation shall be formed. The lines on the accompanying map are drawn on the assumption that the peoples named will form independent nations. If these



MAP OF PROPOSED OMNINATIONAL HIGHWAYS (IN CO



OF PROPOSED OMNINATIONAL HIGHWAYS (IN COLOR)

lines are not those which shall ultimately be established, the principles they are intended to represent will still remain applicable to whatever lines shall obtain.

THE BASIS OF THE NEW ORGANIZATION

World affairs center about international intercourse. The exchange of products is its most tangible phase. Some of these products are material, others mental or moral, but only the material products are measurable in definite terms, and so these only are well suited to be the basis of a concrete working scheme. As a rule mental and moral factors run apace with the material, but this is not always closely and accurately so. And yet the material exchanges form a fairly just representation of the whole intercourse. Commercial exchange is therefore made the basis of the scheme of omninational conduct of world-affairs herewith offered. It has two obvious factors: (1) provision for intercourse, and (2) equitable administration of such provision in the interests of all peoples. The ethical ideas at the bottom of the proposals may be expressed concretely as follows:

A. Fair opportunities for commercial and other intercourse between all peoples under such reasonable economic regulations as they themselves may impose.

B. Protection and regulation of international intercourse by an omninational body representative of all peoples in proportion to their participation in international commerce.

Our nation is openly committed to the endeavor to secure for the peoples in the heart of Europe outlets such as will permit them to reach the high seas and take their rightful part in the commerce of the world. The right of the rest of the world to access to these peoples is only the other side of the equation. Some such provision is regarded as indispensable to lasting good will, and hence to stable peace as well as the common prosperity.

Three types of common commercial highways—world-ways.—

1. The high seas are already recognized as the common highway of all peoples. Respecting them, it only remains to insure their equitable control in the common interest of all peoples. It is proposed to secure this by means of an omninational organization, an

Omninational Confederation, if you please, in which all peoples who engage in international exchange in any appreciable way shall be represented in proportion to their participation. Some details of the mode of organization will be discussed later.

2. While the high seas are thus recognized as common commercial highways, there are certain straits and lesser waterways of other types that are not now equally open to unrestricted commerce. It is proposed that all these shall be opened to general commerce and that they shall be placed in the care of this Omninational Confederation, whose duty it shall be to see that this freedom of use by all the nations is maintained. The freedom of these straits is not, however, to displace those proper restrictions relative to coastal and internal waters that, by common consent, are regarded as essential to national safety and the interests of domestic commerce.

3. A very special problem is the provision of outlets and inlets for peoples occupying lands in the heart of Europe and elsewhere completely surrounded by the lands of other peoples. Commercial highways for these peoples can therefore only be *thoroughfares on land*. In solution of this critical problem, it is proposed that there shall be provided under the authority of the proposed Confederation omninational rights of way on the land, on which shall be located railways, roadways, and other thoroughfares, so placed and so maintained as to constitute world-ways for intercourse between these peoples and the rest of the world.

Pre-eminent domain.—As a basis for establishing and administering these common highways, it is proposed that the Omninational Confederation shall assume the right of pre-eminent domain on the ground of common welfare in precisely the same way that states, provinces, municipalities, and even townships now exercise the right of eminent domain.

These world-ways as barriers against aggression.—The proposed world-owned land-lanes are to be so chosen as to constitute also *barriers against aggression*. As the property of the world at large, taken over for the common welfare under the principle of pre-eminent domain and placed in charge of the Omninational Confederation, it will be within the province of this representative body

to interpose objections to the violation of these highways by one people in attacking another people or by one group of peoples in attacking other peoples, if such attacks contravene the general welfare. It shall be within its power to enforce its protest, if necessary, by an Omninational Guard maintained for the purpose of protecting and policing the omninational property. The very policing of these highways will in itself be a means of preserving the peace.

The relations of the world-ways to national boundaries.—To serve as such barriers to aggression and at the same time to serve equally the peoples adjoining these highways on either side, they are to be placed on or near international boundaries so far as topographic and other natural conditions permit, but they are not themselves to be the boundaries, which will be fixed independently. The world-ways may therefore depart from them more or less freely as conditions require. While broadly serving the commercial interests of the world in general, they will be specially tributary to the interests of the adjoining peoples, as are all highways. The project, should, therefore, if fairly understood, be very kindly received by the peoples of the lands traversed, and the benefits arising from these highways should promote good will toward their establishment, as also toward their maintenance in times of stress.

The proposed gridiron of omninational highways.—In the area most involved in the world-war, it is proposed to establish four north-south omninational highways stretching from appropriate terminals on open-water bodies at the south to similar terminals at the north. Crossing these from east to west four highways of like type are proposed, the whole forming a gridiron of omninational thoroughfares. These are so placed and so related to one another as to give essentially all the peoples of Central Europe outlets and inlets for universal commercial intercourse, as may be seen from the accompanying map. The principle back of this gridiron of commercial highways is precisely that which underlies the public highways of enlightened lands. Put continents in the place of counties, put nations in the place of farmers and lot-holders, and the proposed world-ways serve much the same function as our streets and public roads. What our forefathers put in the place of

Indian trails, we propose in analogy to superpose on the dynasty-ridden domains of Central Europe and Asia Minor. Some of the leading details will be discussed later.

The highway problem of Asia Minor.—The Asiatic area of conflict presents some special difficulties and may therefore be treated on a special basis. The Black Sea on the north, the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Aegean Sea on the west, and the Mediterranean on the south, mark off Anatolia in a definite natural way as the appropriate home of the Ottoman peoples. Nowhere else are these peoples the preponderant nationality. Even here their dominance is qualified by the presence of numerous Greeks, Armenians, and the modified descendants of many ancient peoples. To complete the delimitation of Anatolia according to the method of this scheme, it merely remains to open an omninational highway from the northeastern apex of the Mediterranean over the plateau to the Black Sea, separating Armenia from Anatolia in response to the call of outraged justice. Neither sharp racial limits nor convenient topography lends itself very happily to this demarcation. No doubt lack of a marked natural boundary has contributed largely to the racial intermixture that prevails, but without question the massacres of five centuries are the chief reason why the Armenians are not more preponderant than they now are in their home region on the culminating plateau that has its apex at Mount Ararat.

There is sore need for an open highway across the heart of Anatolia, not only for the sake of its own people, but for that of the lands beyond, which have suffered grievously in the past from isolation and oppression. It is proposed therefore that the Omninational Confederation shall take over and administer the Constantinople-Bagdad railway and develop its connectons so as to make these serve as a gridiron of thoroughfares to and from the rich fluvial plains, as well as the oases of the arid tracts of the Near Orient. Under proper supervision, six productive, prosperous peoples should arise where poverty, degeneracy, and suffering have prevailed for five centuries. All these six lands—Anatolia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia—are sufficiently distinct in physical features, races, languages, traditions, social and religious institutions, to entitle them to be treated as independent

peoples, though they will need help, guidance, and guardianship while they are developing themselves. All have been great in the past and all may be again. It will be a blessing even to the Ottoman people to be relieved of their debasing dynasty and the burden of the name that has fastened itself upon them—"the unspeakable Turk." Relocated in their old home in Anatolia and developed anew on modern lines as Anatolians, they should in time take a worthy place in the progressive world, for the Ottoman people, fairly judged apart from their dynasty, are not without their merits and possibilities.

Relations of omninational highways to other transportation lines.—The main dependence for rendering these highways effective is placed on railways either taken over or built anew by the Confederation. It is assumed that they will have a construction, equipment, and administration worthy of the high purpose they are to serve and of the world-body that establishes and administers them. It is further proposed that, so far as may be wise and practicable, these highways shall be supplemented by waterways on rivers, lakes, and canals, and by common roadways adapted to motor travel, so that the whole shall be as effective and adaptable a combination as may be. Furthermore, it is proposed that these omninational lines shall work in as close co-operation as practicable with the national and corporate lines of the same regions, helping to bind the whole into a mutually helpful system of transportation. An important practical distinction between omninational and other lines will be discussed later.

The bearing of the proposed measures on the thirst for national possessions.—The thirst of overlords and feudal castes for greater and greater possessions is easily understood, but fair-minded people of the benevolent order see little reason to desire the irksome task, the great expense, not to say the critical risks, incurred in subjugating and governing weaker peoples, *provided* fair opportunities for economic intercourse with them can be secured *without such grave burdens*. Under the inherited habit of exploiting subject peoples, possession has naturally been regarded as a prerequisite to economic advantage, and so the cost and danger of acquiring and administering national possessions has been accepted as the price of such advantage. But if open doors and fair opportunities can be

maintained by common action, what remains to justify these costs and risks, not to add the inevitable fear of revolt, the constant preparedness to suppress it and to defend possession against rivals, together with the debasing moral atmosphere that surrounds the relation of master and subject? The proposed opening of all doors by a representative omninational body should lead to a lingering death of the inherited thirst to possess and to rule the lands of other peoples. If this be thought more ideal than real, let the spirit that has guided the people of the United States in their rise to power and prosperity, *as actually expressed again and again in action and in attitude*, bear witness.

The province assigned the Omninational Confederation.—The dream of a single world-nation with a single world-government without doubt is highly laudable and will perhaps in time be realized, but in the cold light of existing facts the full realization of this great dream hangs on the attainment of a state of human evolution only likely to be reached by the world at large in the distant future. Many peoples are yet in the infantile stages of their development and are still far from a state of fitness for full participation in world-management. Grading up from these children of our race, there are peoples in various stages of adolescence and corresponding limitations of fitness, while even those that esteem themselves more advanced have, as this war testifies, only doubtfully entered on a state of intellectual and moral maturity.

Two things therefore seem obvious: (1) that a world-organization based on the hypothesis of national equality and governmental competency would be premature, and (2) that a governmental attempt which should try to compass all the intangible ideals that enter into the social desires and the political aspirations of the many diverse peoples of the world would prove impracticable at the present time.

On the other hand, it seems equally clear that certain great steps in advance are practicable and are therefore imperative. The groundwork for such steps seems manifest on due consideration.

1. *The commerce of the world is a concrete, measurable activity.*
2. *It offers a workable basis of control and administration.*

3. Inasmuch as each nation's commerce is definite and registrable, *a graded participation in control and in administration is entirely practicable.*

4. *Such control and administration is in its nature both just and conducive to the common advantage.*

In the light of these two groups of contrasted deductions, it is now to be said, with emphasis on the distinction, that the Omninational Confederation is *not* proposed as a *mode of political or social government but as a co-operative economic agency* controlling the essence of international affairs. It involves, to be sure, such commercial regulation and such control as is necessary to realize the purpose sought, but there its governmental function ends. It is assumed that so long as races and peoples remain as diverse as they now are it is best that each distinct nationality shall give shape to its own political and social devices and shall control its own local institutions as suits itself best. The proposed omninational effort is limited to concrete affairs of wide international concern, *affairs in which co-operation is indispensable.* The proposal is in the line of divorcing what is essentially racial, political, social, and provincial from what is economic and general. Interchange of products is always necessary for mutual comfort; not seldom necessary to escape starvation, as we now realize as never before, and as we are likely to realize more fully still as the need for food nears the limit of food production.

It is believed that a movement which draws a practical distinction between *political government*, on the one hand, and *co-operative economic regulation*, on the other, will gradually remove the inherited motive for aggressive rulership. Such removal should open the way for a freer adaptation of the special forms of government to the preferences of the peoples concerned; it should tend to abate the thirst for empire.

The functions assigned the Omninational Confederation.—It is proposed that the Omninational Confederation—

(1) Shall take entire control of the policing of the high seas and of such regulation of international commerce upon them as may be necessary and equitable;

(2) Shall take control, in the same sense, of such straits, channels, and lesser waterways as are essential to free international commerce;

(3) Shall exercise the right of pre-eminent domain on the land so far as required in providing avenues of intercourse between distinct nationalities, and shall have power to establish, maintain, and operate such thoroughfares; and

(4) Shall have all the powers requisite to carry into effect the purposes herein set forth.

The ruling bodies of the Omninational Confederation.—To be effective, the Omninational Confederation must be fully organized in a way appropriate to the specific work assigned it. This is likely to be more nearly analogous to corporate business than to the multitudinous legislation of ordinary political governments, and so the function of the ruling bodies may perhaps better be shaped after the most approved patterns of great corporations than after those of political bodies, but of course different forms of organization are consistent with the general scheme, and the plan herewith outlined is merely tentative.

It is important however here to note that the basis of the scheme, international commerce, makes it possible to give each nation that enters the Confederation *a voting power in strict proportion to the part it takes in international commerce*. This gives not only an ethical basis for the conduct of the affairs of the Confederation, but great adaptability to the practical working of the plan as in the case of business corporations. Since nations are negligible that take no part in international commerce, either as carriers or shippers of commodities, all recognizable nations may participate proportionately in the Confederation, and it thus satisfies the title Omninational.

The two factors that make up international commerce, (1) transportation and (2) commodities transported (exports and imports), are sufficiently different to constitute a working basis for two types of representatives, as also two sections of the ruling bodies, and so secure the well-known advantages of a bicameral organization.

It is proposed that the several nations be represented by delegates, who shall form a Congress the function of which shall be to determine the general regulations that shall govern the conduct of

the affairs of the Confederation and to choose directors and certain other officers who shall be more immediately charged with the business of the Confederation. The directors are to be chosen on the proportionate basis and their voting powers in the decisions of the directorate are to rest on this basis. Further suggestions respecting the ruling bodies and the judiciary will be made after the remaining features of the scheme are sketched.

The permanent seat of the Confederation.—It is proposed that the permanent seat of the Omninational Confederation shall be Constantinople, for these reasons:

1. Constantinople has long formed the center of those chronic difficulties that have called for some such remedy as is herein proposed. For nearly five centuries almost continuous trouble has centered about or radiated from Constantinople. The body that is to bring peace out of this prolonged agony may well sit at the seat of trouble.

2. The permanent occupation of Constantinople by a body representing the commercial interests of the whole world would of itself settle one of the most serious problems of the Near East, the possession of this strategic situation; possession by all nations jointly, not by any one alone.

3. The nationalities that most need to be led into the newer and broader national spirit would be nearest the new seat of influence.

4. Placed near the meeting-point of the three grand divisions of the Eastern Hemisphere, the Confederation would be seated where its later work, the economic development of these grand divisions, especially Asia and Africa, would be close at hand.

The naval and military forces of the Confederation.—Two vital considerations are to be met in providing the Confederation with an efficient navy to protect and police the seas and enforce its decrees, if that shall be necessary: (1) There should be no increase in naval or military armament; (2) there should be no weakening of the control of the right-minded nations so long as danger from the inherited spirit of aggression lasts. At the same time, it is agreed by the right-minded nations that a reduction of armament is extremely desirable if not imperative, because of the great financial burdens already incurred in the war. How can these requirements be met?

1. It is proposed that the Confederation shall take over war-vessels from the present navy of each of the nations, by definite units, such as a war-vessel with its officers, crew, marines, and full equipment, in such number as shall represent its equitable proportion of the navy of the Confederation. Let this proportion on the average be *one-third* of the existing navy, leaving on the average two-thirds remaining in the hands of each nation. Let one-half of this two-thirds be retained as the domestic navy of each nation, and let the other half be retired by such nation and be dismantled by it, so far at least that it shall not be an immediate menace to any other nation but still could be restored to service, if emergency required, in less time than any other nation could build vessels anew. Let all building of new battleships, and other vessels for which there is no need except in case of war, be discontinued by all nations.

Now under this plan (1) the *ratio* of naval power between the several nations remains practically the same as it is now; (2) the relative preparedness for war is the same; (3) the chief need of war-vessels is removed by the fact that the policing of the seas is taken over by the Confederation; (4) its system of parity removes the costly race to keep each national navy ahead of rival navies; (5) one-third of the existing expense of maintenance is saved to each nation; and (6) the burden of maintaining the Confederation's navy could probably be met by levies on the commerce protected by it, but if not it would be distributed on an equitable basis. The saving would thus be large, there would be little change in the relative power or preparedness of the nations, and any minor change that might be involved would be merely such as is likely to arise inevitably from the growth of commercial activity. It would be the height of prudence for all nations liable to suffer a change of relative naval power from relative declines in international commerce to forestall the adverse conditions of the future by entering into an equated world-scheme before their advantages pass away. It is important to note that by this plan of division of existing navies the nations that now have strong navies and are active in international commerce take no serious risks in trying the omninational scheme; for, let it be emphasized, the Omninational Navy

is to be made up of national units in equitable proportion, so that should the Confederation go to pieces the pieces would naturally fall back into the several national navies and their relative strength would be much the same as before and as they now are. The scheme does not destroy or trammel national preponderance but merely adjusts it to the rest of the world and the rest of world to it on a basis of ethical parity.

All existing submarines should be scrapped and heavy penalties visited upon every surreptitious effort to make any new ones. Submarines promise little or no constructive service to mankind; they are inherently dangerous to the common welfare. There can be no use or excuse for them, except on the presumption of war; and it is that presumption that we are trying to remove.

Land forces adequate to protect and police the borders of the straits, the terminal ports, and the omninational highways are to be taken over, in military units, from the several nations on the proportionate basis. The effect of this on the existing balance of power will be of much the same order as that of the sea forces, but the details are less readily stated and perhaps less important.

The manufacture of arms and munitions.—As a supplementary precaution against war and especially as a source of safety in peace, it is proposed that the several nations for themselves respectively, and the Omninational Confederation for itself, shall take over *a complete monopoly of the manufacture of arms and explosives of all kinds*, and that no person shall be allowed to make, possess, carry, or use arms or explosives of any kind except under regulations and provisions instituted and maintained by the several nations respectively for their own territories and by the Confederation on the seas and world-ways, the purpose being to suppress the harmful use of arms and explosives now so widely and destructively prevalent. Ample provision would of course be made for the sale of explosives by the respective governments for use in mining and for all other legitimate purposes, as also for the use of arms for the destruction of obnoxious, harmful, and dangerous animals and in legitimate sports.

This universal monopoly of munitions would greatly aid in the suppression of brigandage in ill-governed lands and of riots everywhere, as well as assist in the ordinary policing of all countries. A

rigorous system of accounting and inspection of the national factories of munitions would aid in maintaining an equitable apportionment of these to industrial needs and to the domestic armies and navies agreed upon between the Omninational Confederation and the several nations.

The financing of the Confederation.—The moral basis for financing the Confederation lies in the great saving of expense and man-service that will be secured by the common policing of the highways of international commerce on sea and on land. It is obvious that when such a system is once organized and has secured the confidence of all right-minded nations, the proportionate expense of insuring peace throughout the world will be reduced to a mere fraction of what is now expended in the maintenance of the several great armies and navies of the world. Since each nation will thus be relieved of an enormous burden of expense and loss of service, it will be but a matter of just reciprocity and of honor to meet its part of the expense of the common body that has brought the relief.

But after the system is once established, even this contribution may not be necessary. It is proposed that the revenues from the commerce benefited shall pay the cost of the benefits it receives, as nearly as may be, by appropriate charges for shipping facilities, traffic rates on the railways, and various fees fixed with a view to meeting the costs, upkeep, and administration involved.

The credit of the Confederation, resting upon the credit of the constituent nations, should be an ample basis for such loans as may be required to inaugurate new enterprises. At the outset, however, the specific financial aid of the constituent nations may be required.

DETAILS AND SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION

The foregoing sections have been abbreviated as much as seemed consistent with clearness, to bring the scheme rapidly under view. Some important details need further statement, but even these must be too much abbreviated to be quite adequate.

Difference between world-ways and national thoroughfares.—An important distinction between the omninational thoroughfares on the one hand and all private, national, or even international thoroughfares on the other, whether railways or otherwise, lies in

the fact that the former are *a part of the world domain*, are in effect an extension of the high seas, while the latter are integral parts of the several national domains. This is a vital matter when the collecting of customs is considered. The bordering lines of the world-ways on land would be precisely like the borders of the sea, so far as customs regulations are concerned. Under the omninational scheme the several nations retain the same rights and privileges respecting tariffs and like fiscal systems that they now enjoy, and so the border lines of the land lanes alongside nations that impose tariffs would need to be supplied with custom-houses such as are maintained on sea borders. The normal effect would be to limit the number of stations on the omninational railways to those whose international traffic would support custom-houses. This would tend to throw the subdistribution of imported goods on the infranational lines. It is a fair presumption, however, that the increase of imports due to the facilities offered by the world-ways would more than compensate for the expense of maintenance of frequent custom-houses and that the system would be a source of tariff revenue, where tariffs are maintained, in addition to its other benefits. The bonding system would of course be applicable here as in the present system.

The terminal ports of the world-way system.—The terminal ports would obviously tend to become cosmopolitan; due recognition of this in practical provisions would be required. These provisions might go so far as to make these terminal ports free cities, with governments and fiscal systems of their own under the protection of the Confederation, or they might take the form of concessions similar to those in vogue in China, but probably in most cases less specific regulations would amply accommodate the requirements of the various peoples that assembled at the terminal ports in the natural course of business. The whole tendency of the scheme would be toward general cosmopolitanism, involving the removal of those provincialisms that make it difficult for diverse peoples to live peacefully together. Ultimately the need of any special provision for any particular people would disappear.

Some of the leading features of the omninational thoroughfares proposed in the disturbed area.—The general principle of world-ways

on land applies to the whole world, but only the war-disturbed area is specifically considered here and that only briefly.

1. The most central world-way of the proposed north-south group of Middle Europe is made to start from terminals at Saloniki on the Aegean Sea and to end in terminals near Memel at the mouth of the Niemen on the Baltic Sea, as shown on the accompanying map. It follows the valleys of the Vardar and the Morava, the eastern border of the Theiss plains, crosses the Carpathians through the Ungvar Pass, and follows the eastern border of the land inhabited dominantly by the Poles to its northeastern angle, beyond which it lies on the border between the Lithuanians and East Prussians and has its terminals near Memel at the mouth of the Niemen. It is a nearly north-south line, well suited to furnish an avenue of egress and ingress for the peoples of Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Ruthenia, Poland, White Russia, East Germany, and Lithuania. Just how, as a world-owned tract under control of a world-force and protected against threatening fortifications, this world-way should serve as a barrier between peoples recently in conflict may best be seen by consulting the map.

2. The easternmost of the proposed north-south world-highways starts from terminals on the Bosphorus, runs through terminals on the Black Sea—whose western shore it skirts—and, following the valley of the Dniester, joins the preceding thoroughfare near the junction of what is now Galicia, Poland, and Russia. Thence northward it unites with the preceding to form a common trunk line to the Baltic. It is designed to give an avenue of egress and ingress for the peoples of Thrace, Bulgaria, Rumania, Ukrania, Ruthenia, Poland, White Russia, East Prussia, and Lithuania. Just how it should serve as a barrier between peoples recently at strife may be seen by consulting the map.

3. The west-central line of the north-south group starts from Fiume and Trieste at the head of the Adriatic and runs northeasterly to the junction of Croatia-Slavonia, Austria, and Hungary; thence turning northerly it runs near the border between Hungary and Austria to Presburg, at the mouth of the March valley, which it follows northward across the land of the Czecho-Slovaks to Oppeln on the Oder, from which point it is made to run within the border

of the area where Polish speech prevails, to sea-terminals on the Gulf of Dantzig. This is intended to serve as bond and barrier for the Italian, Jugo-Slav, Hungarian, Austrian, Czecho-Slovak, Polish, and German peoples, giving at once outlet and inlet to and from the Adriatic on the south and the Baltic on the north. Its relations to the problem of future peace are quite as critical as either of the preceding.

4. The westernmost of the north-south highways follows the great natural trench of the Rhine. At the same time it is intimately connected with the main east-west thoroughfare in the valley of the Danube, and the two are best considered together, for they should really form a single thoroughfare. Starting from terminals on the Black Sea near the mouth of the Danube—the same terminals that serve the easternmost north-south highway—this thoroughfare follows approximately the course of the Danube to its confluence with the Drave, which is then followed to its headwaters in the Alps near Brenner Pass in the Tyrol. Awaiting the construction of a more direct connection with the Upper Rhine by tunnel, it is proposed to use for the present the route over Brenner Pass and up the valley of the Inn to the Rhine. Thence the highway follows the Rhine to sea-terminals on the waters of the North Atlantic at the Sheldt and at the Dallart and perhaps at other points. A branch may be made to diverge from this near the angle in the Upper Rhine and extend thorough Switzerland and France to terminals at Marseilles but this is outside the area directly involved in the war-settlement. The great east-west thoroughfare through the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine should provide at once a bond and a barrier between the peoples of Southern Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland. This crosses the two central north-south highways as shown on the map and gives them east-west connections.

5. A more southerly east-west highway is proposed to pierce the heart of the Albanian-Macedonian wilds and introduce a peace-maker between the peoples of Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece, and at the same time unite the Saloniki and Bosphorus terminals. Starting from the mouth of the Drin on the Adriatic,

it follows the course of the Drin eastward and then southward past Lake Ochida to the junction of Albania, Serbia, and Greece, thence easterly near the borders of Serbia and Greece to Saloniki, and thence onward near the Aegean coast to the Bosphorus, where it connects with the easternmost of the north-south thoroughfares.

6. A short east-west connecting highway may be located on the border between Slovakia, Hungary, Ruthenia, and Rumania. Starting from the main central north-south thoroughfare at Presburg on the Danube, it may be made to run thence easterly near the southern border of Slovakia to the Saloniki-Memel thoroughfare, and thence onward across the Carpathians as near as may be along the border of the lands peopled dominantly by Ruthenians on the one side and Rumanians on the other, to a junction with the Dniester thoroughfare. Should Southern Germany form a separate nation, this line might be extended from Presburg northwesterly within the border of Bohemia and thence westerly to the Rhine. Should Russia spontaneously divide into independent or semi-independent states, this and the more northerly east-west line might be extended eastward on the same basis as the rest of the scheme.

7. Still another connecting east-west line may be located on the border between East Prussia and Poland, and thus connect the two main north-south highways near their Baltic terminals.

It will be seen that this scheme provides every nationality of moment in Central Europe with alternative ways of egress and ingress. The boundaries thus designated fairly represent the limits of the lands defined by dominance of race or language or both, and these are among the recognized criteria for homogeneous national organization and administration. This delimitation also fairly corresponds to the historical longings of the peoples themselves. But the details here presented are of course merely tentative and quite likely to need modification.

Added suggestions respecting the ruling bodies of the Confederation.—As remarked in the previous section relating to the ruling bodies of the Confederation, several alternative modes of forming such bodies are as consistent with the general scheme as that here offered. The one favored is sketched because it is somewhat out of the usual

line of governmental organization, in that it conforms to the methods of approved business practice, as seems appropriate in bodies that are to have charge of the world's greatest economic interests. The delegates of the nations are made to function as the attorneys of the national shareholders, while the directorate they select is made to serve as the directive and executive body. It is presumed that the nations will be wise enough in their own interests to appoint as their representatives men of affairs of demonstrated capacity and experience. The conduct of the affairs of the Confederation should follow as little as may be the precedents of political bodies and as much as possible the precedents of business bodies of the highest order. The work to be done lends itself happily to this.

It will be recalled that the proposed basis of representation and voting in all essential matters is to be proportionate to the participation of the respective nations in international commerce in the two respects, (1) shipping, and (2) shipped commodities, and that every nation that takes any measurable part in international exchange, and duly registers and reports it, is entitled to representation in the ratio of such exchange to the total exchange of all nations, be the amount much or little, the scheme thereby resting on the solid ground of strict equity and being really omninational.

For practical reasons, however, the *personal* representation should be limited to workable numbers, and so a unit of personal representation will need to be fixed. The standard unit in transportation might naturally be a given number of ton-miles, while that in exports and imports might be a given aggregate value. A basis for correlating the two would need also to be fixed. The representatives chosen on the basis of transportation might form a Chamber of Commerce, if the term suits; those chosen on the basis of exports and imports, a Chamber of Commercial Industries. In all cases where the commerce of a particular nation falls below the adopted units one delegate should be allowed, that all such nations may be represented. It is to be noted that this merely provides a personal representation; the *voting power* would be based solely on the commercial record of the nations, and in these cases would of course be small.

It will be necessary to define with care what constitutes *international* commerce in distinction from domestic commerce. The essential point will be to keep from the record on which representation and voting is based all commerce that is specially stimulated by financial considerations which favor one nation over others, as by a differential tariff or its equivalent. *A tariff that affects all the nations of the Confederation alike is entirely consistent with the equities of the scheme*, so far as the scheme is concerned—it is not a free-tariff scheme—but a *differential* tariff that tends to direct commerce toward one nation rather than another disturbs the parity of the system. All shipping as well as all commodities so affected should be classed as domestic or preferential exchange and excluded from the record on which representation and voting power are based.

The average of a period of years is likely to be a fairer basis for determining representation and voting power than the last annual record; perhaps the average of a five-year period might be best, the group of years to be changed annually by dropping out the first of the five years when a new year is added.

Subject to the qualifications specified, it should be the privilege of each nation to elect or to appoint its delegates to the Congress in any way it may choose, and where entitled to several delegates to determine whether they shall vote as a unit or otherwise.

It is proposed that the delegates so chosen from the several nations shall constitute the Congress of Delegates, and that this shall organize into two chambers on the basis of the particular phase of international commerce they represent.

The Congress of Delegates should have power—

(1) To enact general laws for the regulation and conduct of the affairs of the Confederation.

(2) To fix the terms of office of the directors chosen by the national delegates. These terms should be sufficiently long to secure the results of experience.

(3) To choose certain general officers to be determined in the matured scheme as adopted.

The directorate might well also consist of two bodies, one appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, whose functions should relate to the shipping interests, the other appointed by the Chamber

of Commercial Industries, whose functions should relate to imports and exports. The directors of both classes should represent the interests of the respective nations by whose delegates they were chosen, and should have the voting power of those nations. The conferring of voting power by proxy should be recognized.

The functions of the directorate would be to carry into effect all the purposes of the Confederation in essentially the same way that the directors of a corporation carry out its purposes. The specific powers conferred on the directorate should have similar range and fulness.

For the judiciary of the Confederation it is suggested that there be four courts, (1) a Court of Inquiry, whose functions shall be the determination of the facts in the cases submitted in as scientific a spirit and in as thoroughgoing a way as possible, and to report its findings to the second court, (2) a Court of Decision, whose function shall be to decide on the equities and the legal aspects of the cases brought before it, on the basis of the facts submitted by the Court of Inquiry, but it should have the power to remand any case for further investigation or to institute investigation on its own behalf; (3) a Court of Appeals, with the function implied by its name; and (4) a Court of Arbitration or Conciliation, to aid in settling controversies without formal trial. This last would often consist of special courts formed by the agreement of the parties in controversy for the arbitration of given cases.

The judges in these courts should, if a practicable scheme can be found, be appointed by the Supreme Courts of the constituent nations, co-operating on the proportionate basis that runs through the whole scheme. No two judges in any of these courts should be appointed from the same nation.